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ABSTRACT

English in Third World countries characteristically possesses an ambivalent, even ambiguous character, relating uneasily with feelings of nationalism and of tolerance towards grassroots multilingualism on the one hand, and with the not-so-blind desire of common people to acquire the White people's language on the other. Many different kinds of communicative needs have to be satisfied, often in the same country, speech community, or family. Any comprehensive attempt to estimate the consequences for language learning would have to go far beyond the prevailingly psycholinguistic emphases of interlanguage theorists. It would also have to give greater recognition to the transfer of communicative competences associated with native languages. These may be well motivated and sociolinguistically variable. The role of literature in non-native Englishes may be focal in this regard. Above all, it is time to place the study of language learning and motivations on a proper bicultural and bilingual footing so as to recognize the interplay of several types of motivation with several types of linguistic repertoire. (Author/AMH)

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Communicative needs in the learning and use of English

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AMBIGUOUS ROLES FOR ENGLISH IN THE THIRD WORLD

There are many questions to be answered concerning the place of English in a multilingual society: who are the people who use the language, in what circumstances, for what purposes, on what topics, and so forth. Certain semi-technical terms ('domain','speech community','networks of communication', etc.) are available which seek to collapse some of the many variables into useful packages.

Let us begin with networks of communication. How are these normally described in the sociolinguistic literature? One can only generalise so far, but a fairly simple and representative example is that of Litteral (1975), who visualises the main communicative networks of Papua New Guinea as a set of four concentric circles (international, national, regional, local) occupied so to speak by three types of language (English as international language, pidgins, vernaculars). Equally representative, Denison's accounts (1968, 1971) of the roles of Italian, the regional language Friulian, and Low German, in what he calls the 'German linguistic island' of Sauris in N. E. Italy, follow much the same pattern, at any rate in referring to three language types. He calls these 'high', 'mid', and 'low' respectively. Abdulaziz (1972), writing on Tanzania, collapses the 'high'/'mid'/'low' distinction in the single term 'triglossia'. And there are other analogous examples.[1] India, of course, does not quite fit, since here one recognises, at the very least,[2] four language tiers, not three, namely English, Hindi, the remaining state languages, and the vernaculars. Even in India, however, as elsewhere, one is aware of the 'Three Language Formula' of the educational curriculum designer.[3] On the linguistic side, three seems to be the magic number.

Abdulaziz introduces an interesting complication however. He seeks to demonstrate that the triglossia situation in Tanzania gives rise in practice to 'intersecting diglossia', on the one hand between the 'high' and the 'mid' languages (English and Swahili), on the other between the 'mid' and the 'low' languages (Swahili and the vernaculars). This leads to 'code-switching and code-mixing involving two or three of the languages concerned' (198, fn. 2). It is an open question whether or not code-switching and code-mixing normally and naturally tend to exclude the interaction of 'high' and 'low' languages, but it does seem to be the case that popular feeling about the statuses of languages at these three levels frequently (though by no means always[4]) centres on the two oppositions 'high versus mid' and 'mid versus low', rather than on 'high versus low'.

Feelings about English, in its role as 'high' language, may very well acquire some of their character from feelings in the same community about 'mid' vis-à-vis 'low' languages. India provides a good example. Several linguists in that country have expressed considerable reservation on the subject of the Indian linguistic states. Khubchandani (1974) for example points out that these are 'really based on the language identity of dominant pressure groups' and do not fit well with the traditional Indian tolerance for linguistic heterogeneity 'based on grassroot multi lingualism responding to situational needs'. Language development programmes not only pull in different and at times contradictory directions, but also make too many demands on people to master standardised languages: 'Skilful mastery over several well insulated standard languages is a remarkable feat which only a few motivated professionals can be expected to achieve'. Pandit likewise believed that these 'elitist' developments, ostensibly aimed at bringing order and modernity to a chaotic situation, are undesirable. In his view Indians generally would be better off without being subjected to dominant languages such as Hindi and other local literary languages.[5] 'The regic of northern India', he wrote, 'where Hindi is the culture language also happens to be the region with the highest rate of illiteracy in the country'. The notion of a dominant language (which he defined as 'one whose speakers do not have to learn or use other languages in different contexts') is after all, he stated, 'relatively new in the Indian situation'; the more traditional picture has always been that of individuals commanding up to four or more languages, of which only one has been formally studied in school, and paying allegiance to no single dominant language. Language convergence 'at the colloquial level' is common in such cases, allowing for 'word to word translatability', with no lack of communication across languages.

'Grassroot multilingualism', of the sort in which the ordinary adult might control up to four or more languages, may be not only traditional and accepted, but wholly functional as well. 'The multilingual mosaic of the country fits with its multireligious, multiracial population; it has provided identity tokens for the individual'. And: 'A bilingual speaker who communicates in two or three languages in different contexts contributes to the development of the languages he uses; the competence of the bilingual speaker is spread over the languages he uses and will eventually result in easier and faster transfers from one to the other; language contact of this type is language development'.

The point to note is that Pandit was by no means saying that English too is an undesirable imposition. Language contact, with extensive

bilingualism between the vernacular languages and English - which he foresaw as 'just another Indian language', would be all to the good on both sides, for languages and language users alike. 'Removing English from the Indian scene at the moment would be disastrous for the Indian languages and literature'.

The fate of English in some particular society will usually be bound up, in one way or another, with the fate of the so-called 'mid' language or languages in the society in question, particularly so if the latter aspire to or have attained the rank of 'national' or 'official' languages. Thus, shortly before 1972, the ruling Kenya African National Union Party (KANU) issued a statement which included the following: 'All future candidates for the National Assembly, county councils, municipalities or any of the elected bodies shall be made up of people who can address a group of people in good Kiswahili for a duration of not less than ten minutes without inserting any foreign words or expressions'. Three years earlier, President Kenyatta had announced: 'We are soon going to use Swahili in Parliament, whether people like it or not' (Daily Nation, 1 September, 1969). Both ideology and implementation had already gone further in this direction in neighbouring Tanzania, the climate there well captured for example by this remark from Abdulaziz (1971): 'Perhaps of all the linguistic conditions that tend to favour the growth of Swahili as a modern language, none is so far-reaching as the decision to make it the language of instruction throughout primary education ... Education must 'nationalise' the children and give them a sense of common cultural identity compatible with the national ethos' (169, 170).

To the extent that they are thus in conflict, both 'high' and 'mid' languages occupy an ambiguous position, in the sense that the underlying conflict of interests is likely to be essentially dualistic. Serpell (1975), writing about Zambia, sets out the following self-explanatory table:

Parallel cultural contrasts in the colonial ideology

superier	foreign	cash	urban	modern	advanced
inferior	indigenous	subsistence	rural	traditional	primitive

He remarks: 'Any policy which attempts to reverse the polarity of one of these contrasts finds itself confronted with opposing associations along the total array'. The solution which he offers sees the development, on the part of individual people, of cultural and linguistic repertoires which succeed in both 'co-ordinating' and 'fusing' such contrasts.

This is no doubt a desirable target to aim for. One of the first questions which is likely to arise however concerns precisely which language or languages might best 'represent' the lower set of values. But then other

questions will probably arise, like for example the following: should the chosen language or languages aspire to some of the functions of a 'high' language? conversely, should the 'high' language itself seek to become a vehicle for the expression of at least some of the 'low' values? yet, are these two converse aims not incompatible? should not one of the contending languages be earmarked therefore for an 'overarching'[6], hence conflict-resolving role?

On the face of it, those concerned might wish not to ask such awkward questions, or allow them to be asked. The sociolinguistic commentator for his part can simply assume that they will go away of their own accord, in time, leaving English for example high and dry as the language of 'modernisation', an arm of the technological world, and nothing more. This is how Fishman sees it: 'English may be expected to continue as the language of technology in Third World settings for as long as politically low-keyed Anglo-American domination in this domain continues. Attitudinal resistance to English in this respect can be expected to weaken, as younger generations successively shed more and more of the puristic and exclusivistic ideologies that their parents and teachers formulated and espoused during the formative struggles for political and cultural independence. Acquisition and use of English should increase as educational opportunity becomes decreasingly dependent on social advantage and as modernization orientations reach successively larger population segments in the Third World .... Other languages of wider communication (e.g., Russian, French, Arabic, Swahili) may also continue to spread outside of their political heartlands, and to do so simultaneously with the spread of English, but their primary functions are less likely to be technological and more likely to be political, philosophical or poetic' (1977: 164).

However, there is more to be said about the role of English in the formative struggles of Third World countries for political and cultural independence than is implied in the reference to the 'puristic and exclusivistic ideologies' of parents. Mazrui (1976) shows for example how English managed to contribute to a sense of national consciousness among non-élite African populations, and in doing so reviews the different audiences which the African politicians had to address in those early days of independence-gaining: the people he sought to lead, the local colonial authorities, the government and public of the metropolitan country, the community of politically conscious black people abroad (a community which the English language helped to create ...), and so forth. English in West Africa was then, and still is, as indeed it is elsewhere, not merely a 'window on the world',

a form of technological convenience, but an essential means for the expression of national identity and national aspirations to an international audience.

And more than national identities. English can, and does, convey something of what being a West African, East African, Kikuyu, West Bengali, even 'black'[7], etc. exactly means. Literature for example, written in a non-native language, can express many layers of identity otherwise hidden to the 'outside world'. How many Western readers have come across this, from the author's foreword to the Indian novel Kanthapura, and gone on to read the whole book? - 'It may have been told of an evening, when as the dusk falls, and through the sudden quiet, lights leap up in house after house, and stretching her bedding on the veranda, a grandmother might have told you, newcomer, the sad tale of her village'. The answer may be: not many. But the literature is there, and it is written in English.

It is often forgotten that English reaches more than international audiences too. One of the roles of English as a national lingua franca may even be that of an ally to the officially favoured 'mid' language: 'Tribalism and corruption were the two problems that must be faced and fought if Kenya was to make real progress, the Minister for Labour said yesterday .... The moment you speak your tribal language with the officers under you, you have a discipline problem .... Only English or Swahili should be used at Cabinet level ....' (Daily Nation, Nairobi, April 9, 1969). It may serve as a necessary resort in the absence of a suitable 'mid' language: 'He would have preferred not to speak to his own kinsmen in English, which was after all a foreign language, but he had learned from experience that speeches made in vernacular were liable to be distorted and misquoted in the press. Also there were some strangers in that audience who did not speak our own tongue and he did not wish to exclude them' (Achebe: 15). Or, as it may yet be in Sri Lanka, as a solution to language-based ethnic conflict[8]. More positively, it may symbolise the personal status of a leader beyond his own particular tribal group, as it did for Nkrumah of Ghana (Mazrui 1976).

All these, and other analogous roles, are inherently ambiguous, even paradoxical. The ultimate paradox however is that popular awareness in so many countries that English is the language of 'modernisation' and economic advancement can effectively pull it, so to speak, from its outermost concentric circle back to the very centre. Frequently there is little doubt in the mind of the ordinary citizen which language to go for. The same has been said of French in Africa: 'As the 'lingua del pane', it remains the sole means for families and their children to emerge from anonymous poverty. In seeming to relegate French too quickly to the status of a

foreign language .... governments may have acted contrary to what the public wants' (Cellard 1976). Mosha, writing from Uganda in 1969, may have missed, or failed to emphasise, the real need behind the 'blind desire' which prompts the learning and use of English: 'The blind desire among many Africans to live, dress, eat, and look like their European colleagues, neighbours, bosses, etc., is evident everywhere in spite of the cries against colonialists, imperialists, and the like. There exists an irrational vogue that what is European must be superior to anything else! (293). Achebe does not, for all the irony: 'Owner of book!' cried one admirer, assigning in those three brief words the ownership of the white man's language to the Honourable Minister, who turned round and beamed on the speaker' (13).

Irony is indeed never far away. 'National leaders criticize English medium schools in public, send their children to such schools, and even patronize them privately. Urchins shouting angreji hai hai and defacing English signboards on the streets of Varanasi and Lucknow are often dressed in immaculate drainpipe trousers and colourful American bush-shirts. A printed notice in our post offices says in English, 'Telegrams in Hindi are accepted here''(Mehrotra 1972). Herbst, a German, may or may not have been quite aware of the irony when he wrote: 'English is .... the language of polite, but also compelling persuasion, the language of giving orders, of getting things done, in short the language of success' (Herbst 1971). So it must seem in those parts of the world where a person's standing is judged not so much by how he speaks his mother-tongue (or some other culturally related language[9]) as by how he speaks English. Sibayan (1977) points out for example that in the Philippines 'both native Tagalog and non-native Tagalog speakers can judge the level of education of a person speaking English better or much easier than they can of a person speaking Tagalog' (17). Possibly however the most ironical comment of all are these few succinct words from that famous Unesco document written in 1953: 'Efforts should be made to persuade an unwilling public to accept education in the mother-tongue' (Fishman 1968: 691).

What are some of the consequences, for languages, language users, and society generally, of this domestic penetration by English, French, and a few other statusful languages? There has been some, though of course not enough, sociolinguistic work on this. Gorman (1971, 1974) and Whiteley (1974) for example have shown how the roles of English, Swahili, and vernacular languages in Kenya are reflected in patterns of inter-generational communication in the home. Other studies (Abdulaziz 1972 as one) reinforce the impression that over much of East Africa linguistic practices in the home do indeed reflect sociolinguistic trends on a national scale. It is

particularly significant that it is above all the younger members of the family who may experience, first-hand, the shape of things to come, moreover be fully aware of the fact. Gorman asked children in rural areas of Kenya to say 'which three languages they would like their own children to speak really well, and to rank these languages in order of choice' (1974: 385). English was their firm first choice.

Parents, in their aspirations for their children, if not necessarily for themselves, may be of like mind. The Daily Nation (Nairobi, May 24, 1969) declared 'It is strange to come across mothers who speak to their very young children in a foreign language - English'.[10] Achebe depicts a common pattern: 'A small thing, but it struck me even as early as this: Mr Nanga always spoke English or pidgin; his children, whom I discovered went to expensive private schools run by European ladies spoke impeccable English, but Mrs Nanga stuck to our language - with the odd English word thrown in now and again' (37). The same can happen with other prestigious languages. Denison observed of Sauris in 1971 that there was then an increasing habit of bringing up children neither in German nor in the regional language Friulian, but in Italian. The home 'is here an extension of school' (Denison 1971: 68).

Of the last case, Denison points out that 'No parents professed to feel any conflict between this function and the dimension of intimacy'. Often, however, there will be conflict, from various sources. There may be political pressure: 'KANU will not tolerate homes where mothers and children talk to each other in English, and pretend to adopt English manners and customs, forgetting their way of life' (official pronouncement, 1970). It may reflect the problematical status and divided allegiances of immigrants. Thus Johnston (1967) reported a good deal of tension over choice of language in the homes of Polish immigrants in Western Australia. She writes: 'Although some parents answer in the negative to the question: 'Do you insist that your children speak Polish at home?' this does not imply that the parents show tolerance in the matter. On the contrary, they do not find it necessary to insist, since a tacit agreement exists between parents and children that no other language but the Polish language should be spoken in the home' (279). Various motives for the choice of one or the other language are discernible in the parents' remarks: educational ambitions for their children, parents' own language proficiencies, their wish for their children to 'grow up to be Australians', desire to retain ethnic identity ('I obey all the laws, but I am still a Pole. My children must be the same'), etc. More ominously, the difficulty could stem from the

same kind of double bind in which the educational policy-maker may find himself: if he urges the furtherance of education in the mother-tongue, he can be thought to be holding back the ordinary people who speak it, while if he urges the increased use of English he can equally be accused of denying access to the traditional culture (Mwanakatwe, 1975). So it may seem to the parent, charged with the linguistic upbringing of his own child. Tensions in the multilingual home are all too likely to take their character from tensions in the wider multilingual society.

SOCIALISTIC ASPECTS OF INTERLANGUAGE ENGLISH

What about the linguistic consequences? With the use of English for the expression of many sorts of cultural and social identity to many sorts of audience, and with its increasing use within the home, it seems likely that at least some varieties of the language will develop, or continue to develop, along lines which could be described as both 'domestic' and 'international'. That is to say, it is unlikely that the whole range of these demands could, or should, be satisfied by the use of just two distinct 'codes', one for the domestic hearth, poetry, philosophy, local politics, and the like, and more or less 'informally' learned, the other for the international world of business, technology, etc., and 'formally' taught. Such avowedly neat compartmentalisation may appeal to some language planners, apologists for certain academic ideologies, some teachers, some textbook writers, and so forth, but it probably bears little relation to reality. It is time to look at why this is so.

Traditional accounts of language learning have tended to centre on the notion of 'interference', working both ways between the 'first' (L1) and the 'second' (L2) language. More recently, however, questions like these have begun to be asked: in cases where there is mutual influence between L1 and L2, what sort of L1 is 'interfering', and what sort of L2? should one therefore be looking for 'bilingual norms', resulting from combined processes of two-way 'interference', 'integration' (i.e. more permanent absorptions of parts of one language by another), and language learning? what is the exact nature of these bilingual norms? are they inevitable, systematic, desirable, etc.? do they have social and cultural meaning on their own account? are they systematically variable in character? how far are they under the control of the language user himself? can they be manipulated for various social purposes? And so on. The more sociolinguistic of these questions are beginning to be faced in various scattered contexts, such as the American Southwest (Elías-Olivares 1976, Ornstein 1976, etc.), the 'post-creole continua' of parts of the West Indies (Edwards, Rosberg, and Hoy 1976, for example), parts of India where languages appear to have 'coalesced' (Gumperz

and Wilson 1972), etc., but have received rather little attention so far when it comes to the question of sociolinguistic variation as such in the English used by non-native speakers from Third World countries (see however Augustin 1978, Richards 1978, Sepfell and Simukoko 1978, Tay 1978, Wong 1978).

The notion of 'interlanguages' is clearly relevant to all this. So far however the main emphases have been psycholinguistic. Little has been done to follow up Selinker's comment (1972) that learner strategies for example may be 'culture-bound' - a possibility that may also apply to 'second-language communication' and communicative strategies generally. One need only read for example the ethnographically based accounts by Philips (1970, 1976) of some learning habits and problems of American Indians to see how this could be so. The principle should indeed be extended further, to the recognition that there may well be a very pervasive communicative dimension to each of Selinker's five processes.

A simple and straightforward, but very relevant example of the sort of thing that is entailed is Rubin's (1975) stimulating discussion of what makes a good language learner - the capability of being 'comfortable with uncertainty', having a 'strong drive to communicate', not being 'inhibited', etc. An informed commonsensical approach prompts the reflection that 'training procedures' too, if they are not totally mechanical in nature, are exercises in communication, having their own communicative norms (analogously, it has been well argued that even a formal interview situation is a normal enough speech event, likewise with its own communicative norms: see for example Wolfson, 1976). As for 'overgeneralisation of target language linguistic material', who could doubt that communicative behaviours associated with the target language will often themselves be overgeneralised, or that linguistic overgeneralisation often stems in any case from problems of communication which induce stress in the learner?[11]

But probably the most far-reaching extensions in this direction would have to do with the currently somewhat diminished status of language transfer. This is so for two closely related reasons. One is that the transfer of features from L1 into L2 is frequently motivated, in the sanse that their presence (or absence) may itself amount to a communicative act - consciously performed or otherwise. The other reason is that <u>what</u> is transferred may well include strategies of communication associated with native languages and the native way of life generally. 'Language transfer' and 'strategies of communication' are intimately related, just as 'language' and 'communication' are.

It is probably fair to say that hitherto the prevalence of sociolinguistic transfer (normally called 'interference') in the English of the

non-native speaker has nearly always been seen as simply part and parcel of the learners' difficulties in mastering the complex norms of the target language itself. Ervin-Tripp (1974) suggests that the simpler the relation between meaning and form, the less the likelihood that the learner will have recourse to 'other-tongue formations'. English for example lacks the same type of complicated system for the marking of relative status and familiarity which is possessed by Javanese,[12] hence may be deemed to pose relatively few problems for the Javanese learner in this respect. Yet (apart from the fact that English itself may turn out for the unsuspecting Javanese learner to be rather more tricky than he had bargained for when it comes to the marking of status and the like) undoubtedly some features of the Javanese way of communicating these things will stick, in whatever other language he learns, as a basic part of the general communicative style of the Javanese speaker.[13]

Let us have some concrete examples. Ordinary everyday speech functions are the most obvious - greeting, leave-taking, requesting, thanking, and so on. We need to look first at accounts of how these things are done 'back home', in the native languages of our English-learners. Apte (1974) for example provides an illuminating discussion of the contextual determination of when it is obligatory, when it is taboo, and when it is optional to express gratitude in Marathi and Hindi. The conventions are very different from those in English-speaking Western societies. Among close friends, for example, 'Deliberate usage of gratitude expressions may suggest that from the speaker's point of view the friendship has come to an end because verbalisation of gratitude indicates a distant relationship' (75). In optional contexts 'the occurrence or non-occurrence of gratitude expressions reflects a number of social characteristics of the participants including their education, occupation, social status, cultural sophistication, the degree of Westernization and their motives and evaluations of other participants' (76). It is well known that Westernization tends to carry with it an abundant use of English words and phrases in Marathi and Hindi[14] and other Indian languages. This applies not least to 'thank you' and similar phrases. But not all educated speakers of these languages necessarily wish to conform to this pattern: 'A listener who is well-educated but has an orthodox outlook and is proud of the Indian cultural tradition is likely to react negatively to gratitude verbalization and especially to the use of the English phrase. He may look down upon such usage or may even ridicule such gratitude verbalization, since he does not approve of what he considers superficial western manners' (77).

Apte's account (80 ff.) of the cultural values which underlie the 'orthodox outlook' is well worth reading, since it is in these terms that the Indian learner of English has to decide where he belongs, whether he is to make certain linguistic adjustments or not, how important it is to be accurately and readily understood by his Western (or non-Indian English-using) interlocutor, etc. In short, what is to be his preferred sociolinguistic frame of reference? The expression of gratitude in Hindu society as a whole is intimately bound up with what can be broadly translated as 'duty', 'social class', 'stage of life', 'lack of expectations', etc. 'The belief is that once the gratitude is verbalised, the receiver of help no longer owes anything to the helper and does not have to reciprocate' (82). It is abundantly evident that for the Marathi and Hindi speaker this one speech act is as complicated and committing, in its own way, as are the complex orchestrations of linguistic features which Geertz describes for Javanese 'linguistic etiquette'. It is also one of several potential and analogous sources of amusement for many native speakers of English.

But at least such usages are relatively noticeable, hence to that extent can be brought under control, one way or the other. More extended characteristics of discourse may however escape notice, except in a very diffused sort of way. Yet these too may be built in to the very fabric of non-native Englishes.

Take native English first. Question-answer sequences for example are rule-governed to a perhaps surprising extent. Some questions are not asked, some expect no answer, some operate as conventional cues which may serve to determine the course of quite long exchanges ('are you doing anything tonight?'), and so on.[15] There are 'awkward questions', 'leading questions', 'polite enquiries', and an array of other culturally rather specific ploys, each hosting its own range of permissible and appropriate responses. But who is to say that the foreign learner of English must fall into line in all these ways, even if he happens to be speaking to a native user of the language (or indeed if he happens to be speaking to another non-native user of it from some other part of the world)? We should ask what is the price of falling into line. After all, too efficient learning of what is new and alien at these levels may well entail an equally efficient unlearning of what is old and familiar.

There are at least three interrelated problems here. The first has to do with whether or not efficient code-switching of this wide-ranging culturally-slanted kind is really possible. The second is whether or not, and to what extent, it can only be achieved at the cost of some crucial

unlearning. The third is whether or not it is desirable. Pascasio (1976), writing about code-switching in the Philippines, assumes the answers yes, no, and yes, respectively. She writes: 'To minimise communication breakdowns and promote smooth social interaction between a speaker and a listener, the language used should be consistent with its cultural frame of reference. Thus, the English language should have for its culturally-defined reality the English culture (whether it be British, American, or Australian)' (19). And goes on later: 'An example of an occurrence of communication breakdown is when English is the language used, but it has for its frame of reference Philippine culturally-defined reality'. At no point is the possibility entertained that some adjustment could - indeed should - be made by the native speaker, that contexts will vary in appropriateness in this regard, that there need not in any case be some unalterable set of contexts in which all the adjustment must be made by the non-native speaker, and so on. Pascasio's own research demonstrates very clearly the quite deep-seated linguistic as well as cultural differences that exist in for example the expression of greetings and requests in Pilipino and English. Furthermore, a wide range of prosodic and paralinguistic behaviours are involved: 'To maintain smooth interpersonal relations within the Philippine setting, the speaker has to soften his voice, use an intonation pattern that is 'sing-song', put on a pleasant facial expression, raise one's eyebrows, coupled with ....' etc. (11). Is all of this so expendable?

It is more than probable that culturally specific communicative norms are carried over into non-native varieties of English all across the world. And, no doubt, few if any contexts of language use are immune. Here is a particularly interesting observation which suggests that sociolinguistic strategies are all a part of diplomacy: 'I suspect the most interesting area of transfer to explore would be the area of rhetoric or 'communicative structure'. For example, many Indonesian writers prefer to set up an opposition of two extreme views on a topic, and then allow their own views to emerge as an attempt to find a middle way, or as resolving conflict and harmonizing the two extremes. (This may be done even when a topic is not especially controversial.) This device is transferred to English .... such preferences for particular rhetorical structures could be some of the few characteristic features helping to identify written Indonesian English' (J.G. Honeyfield, personal communication). Rather similarly, Laitin (1977) offers some evidence to the effect that 'conciliatory' practices in Somali stand in marked contrast to what he believes to be a characteristic preference for 'confrontation' in 'American English', and that Somalis do in fact tend

to adopt a more confrontational manner when speaking English - as revealed for example in their use of the word 'but'. The methodological pitfalls in these kinds of enquiry are no doubt obvious (as are the dangers of espousing a strong Whorfian view of the relativities involved), but they are still worth undertaking.

It is in these kinds of terms that we want to know how interlanguage Englishes vary stylistically, according to the situational context, the purpose sought by the language user, and so forth. We do not want to have to admit that the interlanguages of non-native users of English are always either monolithic or else randomly or trivially variable. No doubt some archetypal 'foreign language' textbooks and classrooms, allied with limited opportunities for the use of the language, will ensure that the English of some learners will be fairly monolithic. But is there any reason in principle why non-native English at large should not be worthy of something like the sociolinguistic scrutiny which for example so-called Black English in the United States has attracted? If Black English, why not Indian English? Or Philippine English? Or Singapore English? Or Malaysian English? Or Zambian English? Or ....?[16]

ROOM FOR CHOICE

Perhaps it is the factor of choice that will matter most in the long run. To what extent, in what sorts of context, for what purposes, etc., can the non-native user of English choose to express aspects of his native culture and language(s) in the English he uses? What does one mean by the word choose here? Does it have to mean a fully conscious and deliberate selection from among specifiable alternatives, a form of behaviour that can be accurately recalled and discussed afterwards? If so, then much of our ordinary linguistic behaviour is not a matter of choice in this sense. But there are other senses in which individual departures from conventional norms can be regarded as matters of choice, however unconsciously made and however hazily recalled.

Be this as it may, there exist many revealing studies of code-switching which emphasise the individual and symbolic nature of the process, as opposed to what is conventional and context-bound. There is surely no reason why the use of non-native English should not be like this, both as a symbolic choice in itself and as a system of stylistic alternatives from which further choice can be made.

There is of course one field in which the point we are making is very evident: that of literature. One of the bases of literature is, undoubtedly, its ultimately personal character. Mukherjee (1971), in a useful review of

the Indo-Anglian novel, points out: 'A writer's first obligation is to himself, and in whatever language he writes, he has to remake it for his own particular purpose. In this sense the Indo-Anglian novelists' experiments are no different from the experiments of creative writers anywhere in the world' (172). Even so, as she observes on an earlier page, 'It is .... impossible to write a good novel today that remains suspended out of time and space; it must have a definite location in temporal and spatial reality', and 'Since the novelist's subject is man-in-society, his subject-matter must also be the texture of manners and conventions by which social man defines his own identity' (18).

The problem of audience and language is crucial. The writer can 'write about urban and cosmopolitan situations where language is no serious barrier', but this would be too facile a solution. Instead, several recognisably 'Indian' themes 'have emerged to form recurrent patterns in Indo-Anglian fiction', the theme of social change for example, and the struggle for independence ('one of the few pan-Indian experiences of our time'). More generally there has been the impact of the West. 'Almost every educated Indian today is the product of the conflicts and reconciliations of two cultures' (65), a tension which has offered a creative challenge for the writer. 'The successful writer can exploit the dramatic as well as the symbolic potential of the theme holding the two sides in a poised suspension in an international dialectic that never collapses into mere national commitment' (27).[17] That is to say, the Indo-Anglian writer at his best and most characteristic expresses what it is like to be bi-cultural.[18]

The achievement of authentic biculturalism is one of the hardest demands to be met by the literary artist who uses a non-native language. Yet, ideally, writes Mukherjee, in this endeavour 'a writer has no choice about the language he writes in; it should be a matter of inevitability' (97, fn.3). The reality is more likely to be one of struggle. Kandiah (1973) argues that in Sri Lanka 'the production today of a truly Ceylonese English work is an immensely formidable task', for two main reasons. Firstly, the creative writer who uses English 'is largely alienated from the people of the country'.[19] And secondly, the use of habitual features of local English speech in literature 'would be greeted with embarrassment, hostility, or derision'. These twin circumstances have been reacted to, in Kandiah's view, in the wrong way, in for example attempting to write poetry in a language 'explicitly modelled on that of native English poetry' and prose which treats of an experience - 'the experience of an often idealised village' - which the writer has not himself shared, moreover in a 'counterfeit' style which introduces features traceable to Sinhala into an outdated 'academic' form of English. 'The

vague lyricism which infuses the sterile academic style draws its effects from the debased romantic journalism in vogue among the Victorians' (1971).[20]

What are the alternatives? One alternative is to cease dealing with a subject 'on the other side of the wall' and instead deal with 'the experience of urban people in an urban setting', utilising 'Ceylon English speech .... born and nurtured in an urbanised, westernised, partly sophisticated middle class society' (1971). Another (more 'negative') solution is to transmit something of the struggle to make the language serve the needs of what is (for the writer) an alien subject matter. Either way, Kandiah feels, the writer is guaranteed only a kind of failure.

But this is just one man's view of one country. Moreover, it might be objected that the realm of literature is in any case somewhat peripheral to the broad field we are now considering. There are however many reasons for thinking that literature of all kinds has (or can have) considerable influence in the continuing development of varieties of the language which are indeed both 'domestic' and 'international'. Among other reasons are the following: 1) the audience, though perhaps relatively small, is (at least potentially) both national and international; 2) in reflecting the 'texture of manners and conventions by which social man defines his own identity', the writer is forced to search for a very economical set of words capable of expressing that social identity; 3) a major writer is always liable to leave his own stamp on the language;[21] and 4) the prestige of certain writers in the eyes of those who are influential in teaching the language may be very great indeed.

All four reasons prompted many of the responses which the writer received not long ago to a request which he made of some 430 leading teachers of English in 30 countries, asking for 'one or two short pieces of serious prose which you feel would be recognisable as having originated somewhere in your country', and inviting brief comments.[22]

All Indian recipients who sent back material demonstrated very clearly that they had interpreted the question as in effect a challenge to offer some examples of the best - and in a few cases also the worst - writing in 'Indian English'. The proportion of literary to non-literary writing was very considerable: there were 17 extracts from novelists and short-story writers; 28 samples of quite literary non-fictional prose (books, essays, printed lectures, etc.) on artistic, philosophical, literary, religious, historical, and cultural themes generally, belonging to the Indian experience - compared with 3 examples only of newspaper or journalistic writing, and 2 of letter-writing. From creative literature came extracts from Raja Rao (4), Anand (4), Narayan (3), Bhattacharya (2), Rajagopalachari, Kushwant Singh, and

Satpathi, plus one children's short story. Non-fictional prose was largely represented by Gandhi, Nehru, R. Tagore, and Chaudhuri, also by Aurobindo, Radhakrishnan, Kabir, Iyengar, Tandon, and others, backed up by a fair smattering of essays and lectures by highly-esteemed academics.

On this evidence, India may be a case apart. Even so, the importance of the country and its English-speaking population, together with the very evident conviction and sense of commitment on the part of all who responded, justifies our pursuing the theme of sociolinguistic choice in literature in this very specific context.

'The writer's identity is easily established by the many Indian references and by the conscious use of lexical items borrowed from Sanskrit. The passage is remarkable for its syntactical and lexical variety, but is not entirely free from grammatical lapses like 'going-ons'. The heightened tone and the figurative language are characteristic of the author's style which must have been influenced by his mother-tongue which, I believe, is Tamil'. This short comment could stand as a prototype for many others which emphasise a) Indian references, b) direct borrowings (or transliterations) from Indian languages (here Sanskrit), c) grammatical and other 'lapses', d) 'heightened tone' etc., and e) stylistic influence of the mother-tongue.

An archetypal source for 'Indian references' is the tremendously prestigious novel Kanthapura, by Raja Rao. 'Crush it in its seed' is the regional equivalent of 'nip it in the bud', but to say so would do violence to the Indian's aesthetic sense which views a flower with tenderness, but 'crush it in its seed' can convey the need for a radical approach and the 'seed' image can strike panic in the hearts of peasants in an agricultural set-up which preserves the seed against severe odds such as draught, fire, rain or even grinding poverty'. The novels of M.R. Anand come into much the same category in this respect. Thus, of Anand's Untouchable: 'In order to understand the deep structure of his novel one has to have very clear idea of the place of the untouchables in Indian society. On the surface what appears to be a strange juxtaposition of simple words like 'spoiler' and 'salt' is in fact an external manifestation of deep-seated social tension in India'. Similarly, on a passage from a short story by Bhattacharya: 'Certain turns of speech identify the characters as belonging not only to Bengal but also to a particular class. The wife is not called by name but is 'The mother of Sona - Mona'. The expression 'I was a thing of wood, I was a tree standing rootless' reminds one of the commonly used Bengali idiom. Moreover the passage is replete with metaphors and references to the love of Savitri'.

And so on. The fact that these and all the many similar glosses refer to literary or near-literary material indicates the importance attached by these particular respondents to the actual or potential role of Indian literature in English in distilling the essence of the Indian way of life and experience for a non-Indian audience - through 'certain turns of speech'. Not that the response is not occasionally critical. 'I have also included two excerpts from fiction in order to illustrate the 'regionalism' and the excessive use of 'Indianisms' (including transliteration) by some of the authors'. Thus: 'The passage abounds in Indianisms - Babuji, transliteration of Punjabi phrases and colloquialisms ('eater of your masters', 'May you die', 'May the vessel ....' etc., 'spoiler of my salt', lustful young bull'). The taunting reference to the status of the servant and the display of superiority complex in the last sentence are also echoes of the Punjabi idiom.'

The same writer points out that 'Like his other novels, Coolie is primarily addressed to non-Indian readers'. For this reason, and since the particular passage in question is almost identical in its 'certain turns of speech' to another passage chosen by another respondent from another novel by Anand, it may be worth quoting in full:

''Vay, you eater of your masters! May you die! May the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence!' the tornado of abuse burst. 'May you never rest in peace, neither you nor your antecedents! That you should attack the honour of my child! Only a little child, too! You lustful young bull from the hills! How did we know we were taking on a rogue and a scoundrel! Let the Babuji come home! You ought to be handed over to the police! Look! Look at my child! Had you no shame! No respect! You spoiler of my salt! What is your status that you should mix with the children of your superiors! ....'

To what extent, and in what respects, are Raja Rao and Anand representative of other major contemporary Indian novelists writing in English? Mukherjee writes: 'One important difference between the styles of Raja Rao and Anand is that Anand's experiments are limited to the dialogue of his characters, while Raja Rao's special effects permeate his entire style .... In this respect more Indo-Anglian writers are like Anand than they are like Raja Rao' (186). Both however are representative in their use of grammatical, lexical, and more generally stylistic features characteristic of Indian languages. A comment on a piece from Kanthapura: 'In its syntax, intonation, idiom, the passage reads just like its equivalent in the regional language Kannada ....' On Anand: 'He is rendering polite idiomatic Urdu phrases into English to show Indian flavour'. On Chaudhuri: 'Prose is more decorative than functional.

Interestingly, prose written in Indian languages was until recently very ornamental'. On R. Tagore: 'Similarly, the reference to the 'Supreme Man' is readily associated with the Hindu concept of Mahatma - in fact 'Supreme Man' is a transliteration of the term'. On Professor Banarasi Prasad Saksena: 'The underlined sentences are construed in a Hindi fashion. Uses like 'obtain satisfaction', 'loving and respectful devotion' etc. are clear indications of Indian influence'. On Iyengar ('Science but breeds more science, and doubles or trebles itself every ten years; and democracy is apt to become caucocracy, clerkocracy, file-ocracy, bundhocracy'): 'A bundh means in Hindustani/Hindi languages a total strike or urban, industrial and commercial life at a standstill ....' On Kushwant Singh ('What honourable noun does your honour bear?' 'My name is Iqbal.' 'May your Iqbal ever increase' .... 'Where does your wealth reside Babu sahib?'): 'There is a deliberate effort on the part of the author to give his language a local colour. This he has been able to achieve by using ordinary lexical items like 'noun' and 'wealth' in an entirely new context of culture'.

No doubt the danger is always present that such devices (if devices is quite the right word) can soon get 'congealed into mannerisms' (Mukherjee, 181). It was not this however, so much as certain qualities of imagery and style in general, that drew the critical fire of many of the respondents. Broad diagnoses were frequent: 'The particular features of Indian sub-standard English are 1) a haphazard mixture of modern American and late Victorian idioms, 2) a tendency towards overstatement, 3) too much use of metaphor, and 4) use of redundant adjectives' .... 'I would say that the most distinguishing characteristics of Indian English are a) ornateness, b) the use of the abstract rather than the concrete word, c) tendency to avoid particulars, and d) a mixing of registers' .... 'I have distinguished three kinds of Indian English, 1) ornate-metaphorical English, 2) exhibitionist English, 3) homespun English'. Near the end of her book Mukherjee too admits: 'Apart from a few exceptions, the bulk of Indo-Anglian writing even now is marked by two characteristics .... a meretricious, ornate and adjective-ridden style, and an excess of solemnity' (199).

The really striking feature of most of the comments however was the language itself in which they were couched, together with the occasionally surprising targets selected. A piece of academic literary criticism ('a good specimen of the kind of 'literary English' our teachers prefer to write') is 'typically 'Indian English' in its oddity and quaintness'. Another contains a 'medley of metaphors', 'quaint' phrases, 'bizarre' imagery, and 'betrays a curious fondness for strong language'. A third is 'provocatively

stilted', 'pedantic', inclined to the 'modish cliche'. An essay by Tagore 'suffers from a touch of the precious', yet for all that 'it is a supremely cultured voice .... the style not that of today's clipped prose'. 'Archaic' was a favourite tag: 'Though the style may seem archaic to present-day speakers of English, it corresponds to that of our senior politicians, writers of leading articles, as well as that of our senior academics'. Archaism generally was a favourite theme: 'Such pedantic prose was usually written by English educated Indians of the previous generation who were not in living contact with spoken English but whose claim to distinction was high sounding but vague and abstract words, over-wrought phrases and wide range of irrelevant knowledge'. A sense of curious archaism was captured very frequently indeed in the one word 'quaint': 'Some very Indian uses of language, which one dares not call mistakes, add to the quaint charm of the language'. The old-fashioned note was struck too, several times, with the word 'chaste': 'So his English is expectedly chaste, even Latinate, and grammatically perfect. It gives the impression of having been industriously learnt, much as a dead language is learnt, on an approved classical model, in this case almost certainly Burke .... Mr Deshmukh's antiquated but disciplined style makes rather quaint reading today'.

It may be fair to point out however that there was nothing very evidently 'dead', or indeed 'quaint', about the nearly grammatically perfect prose which attracted the last comment. It was written in 1957 by a senior civil servant 'from Maharashtra where the level of Sanskrit scholarship has always been high'. It seems in fact, to this writer at any rate, to be an adequately clear and businesslike essay ('Hundred years of the University of Calcutta') betraying no more than its normal quota of bureaucratic jargon. It would indeed very nearly pass as 'English English'. As for the 'quaint charm' of the previous passage, it was supposedly embodied in two items - 'unknown place' for 'obscure place', and 'tears rolled down in streams over her dry cheeks' for 'down her dry cheeks tears rolled in streams'. These, it was said, 'are as good examples as any to be gleaned in the field of Indo-Anglian writing'. The passage itself does indeed breathe a certain quaint if heavy charm ('The conclave of the stars in the sky appeared to be warming up. A restless earth waited .... Gayatri sat alone .... merely a shredded page of some great book .... What use was the light of the world, she wondered, when her inner being was swathed in darkness .... Her body was racked with sobs, the ribcage quivered with her sighs'), yet none of this was singled out for comment (compare Subrahmanian 1977).

This tendency to mistake the real target for what might otherwise be justifiable criticism appears, on this evidence, to be significant, even if

not necessarily widespread. For here is surely one of the many burdens placed on the non-native user of English who is anxious to preserve or develop proper 'standards'. The nagging questions will always be: what are the standards? What choices do we have?

The problem persists when it is approval that is being expressed, or a more neutral estimate of sameness and difference. For example, it is one thing to claim 'I doubt whether standard Indian English is very different from British usage'. It is quite another however to write 'The English of cultivated writers like Sri Aurobindo looks like cultivated English anywhere'. The fact is that the English of Sri Aurobindo would look utterly strange to most cultivated practitioners of standard English. A few lines from Aurobindo's prose should settle the point: 'As there, so here the impulse exists more or less obscurely in her different vessels with an ever-ascending series in the power of its will-to-be: as there, so here, it is gradually evolving and bound fully to evolve the necessary organs and faculties'. Admittedly we are quoting one of context, but it is very doubtful whether any amount of context would bring this kind of language into line with 'cultivated English anywhere'. Similarly, though less disturbingly, it is one thing to observe that 'English in India is slowly acquiring an Indian complexion', but another to suppose (without further qualification) that there is so far nothing so peculiarly regional in Indian English as there is in 'American or Australian English'.

Yet of those who responded very few openly questioned their own ability either to recognise or to pronounce upon the 'Indianness' of their texts, or of 'Indian English' in general. Thus, of the 50 who either sent or offered to send relevant material, only 4 expressed noticeable tentativeness about their selections or their judgment. It was in this respect, as well as in sheer volume and general character, that responses from India stood apart. 'While there are regional differences in spoken English within the country itself, an educated Kashmiri and a Keralite separated by 3000 kilometres can understand each other more easily than either of them by a non-Indian. It is however in creative writing that one sees notable departures from Standard English or English-English'. No such unhesitating definition of a specific area of difference-with-choice was characteristic of responses from any other country. Indications of the presence of real choice, individual or community-wide, tended rather to be uncertain and indirect. Let us first briefly review some of these other responses.

From Malaysia came 3 selections from fiction, 2 passages analogous to the 28 'serious literary prose' from India, but on the other hand 8 extracts from undergraduate essays and many cuttings from newspapers. From the

Philippines, an equally large selection from newspapers and popular journalism, plus 3 prose extracts. The same pattern applied to Indonesia and Thailand, accompanied in most cases by denials of the existence of any identifiably Indonesian or Thai writing in English. From Hong Kong there were public notices and official reports. For the rest, there was very little indeed, and this restricted almost entirely to newspaper cuttings and undergraduate prose.

But there were interesting pointers for all that. For example, one would like to know what sort of representativeness and influence is possessed by popular journalistic writing in Englisn in such countries as Malaysia and the Philippines. Selections from regular 'social comment' columnists ('Enter the all dolled-up male?', 'Confessions of an incurable car addict', 'To assess and to respond, that's how', 'What rapture, to 'make' that Page of Pages', 'The sorry state of our monuments', 'The S.H. Tan Column' - no less than 7 of these, 'Letter from Lilliput' ....) were surprisingly frequent. Moreover, there was no doubting the element of choice in some of the language: 1) 'He thought he had time to say goodbye to his movie friends and sought them out at a restaurant near State Theatre where they were wont to hang around'. 2) 'We hope that the meeting did take place, and that the parties involved were able to arrive at a modus vivendi. After all, one week to go na lang ang shooting. Sayang naman kung hindi matapos. O baka naman pinasasabik lang nila ang mga tao?' 3) 'She is a woman who plays with the affections of at least four men, sleeps under the same roof with one but different locked rooms, and what she milks from them she keeps to feed and educate a fifth. This is Sesang, in the Zarsuela 'Ang Kiri'.' 4) 'The answers are cute! To my favourite, 'What do you think of RTM?' some have answered: 'All right, lah!',

Needless to say, these are kinds of written language which are in touch with spoken norms. These in turn may be fluid and inventive: 'The English-educated Malaysian is a versatile creature where his English performance is concerned. He can pass the test of accepted written and spoken English and just as easily revert to the spoken English of his environment in informal situations'. They may also, as reflected in the second passage above (from the Philippines Daily Express, September 4, 1977), incorporate a good deal of rapid code-switching. We should turn to this therefore as a second main area of choice.

Rapid code-switching in spoken language is a prime source of apparent 'code-mixing' between languages. The two processes are sometimes difficult to distinguish. In many parts of the world feelings about both, particularly

about what is believed to be code-mixing, are negative in the extreme. Switching between Spanish and English in parts of Texas for example has been described as 'what seems almost random language mixture'; it 'tends to be disparaged and referred to by pejorative terms such as Tex Mex', and is 'rarely reported in the literature and frequently dismissed as abnormal' (Gumperz, 1971). Gumperz and Hernandez state that this sort of usage is 'very persistent', even among the educated; and that even though it is held in disrepute, it occurs 'whenever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change' (112). They suggest further that choice of English and Spanish respectively tends to carry connotations of distance along with detached or general statements (English), and warmth along with personal involvement (Spanish). 'What seems like random alternation between two languages may be an expression of ambivalent feelings'. But not everyone will do this, and the occasion has to be right: 'Codes alternate only as long as participants are Chicanos and while their conversation revolves around personal experience'.

Writing on one particular neighbourhood in Texas Elias-Olivares (1976) states that 'to be a bilingual means precisely to be able to switch rapidly from one language to the other' (13). The main purpose of doing this is to 'express ethnic membership', respond to shifts in formality or respect, adjust to the appearance on the scene of other individuals, and so forth. Backed up as it is by evidently ambivalent feelings (loyalty to the local non-standard varieties of Spanish, respect - or disrespect! - for the standard Spanish upheld by older speakers and teachers, regard for the socio-economic prestige of English, etc.), this type of code-switching is clearly 'interactional' in character. Much of the same sort of thing happens in the setting studied by Ma and Herasimchuk. They observe: 'From a socio-linguistic point of view .... this rapid and continuous language switching is the defining characteristic of a particular conversational style among certain types of bilingual intimates, i.e. it can be considered a language variety of its own' (656). They observe further that this propensity for using 'mixed' utterances was criticised by many, 'although younger members have been known to express some ethnic pride in having their own exclusive jargon' (655).

In other parts of the world one can find similar indications of both traditional suspicion and/or disbelief,[23] together however with a dawning awareness - particularly among the younger generation - of some ethnic or 'pragmatic' purpose in so 'mixing' the codes. Thus, about the Philippines, Sibayan (1977) writes: 'I still remember the emotional difficulties and

professional as well as personal concern that teachers, especially those teaching English in high school and college, went through when English-Tagalog code switching (hereafter mix-mix) started. The teachers were so concerned and they worried about what would happen to the English of their students. This became the subject of many seminars and conferences. But it was a losing battle they fought. Today - over radio, TV, and even in the highest government and social circles, mix-mix is the 'in' thing. One senior executive in answer to the question, 'Do you feel/believe that this practice of mixing English and Tagalog sometimes jokingly called Engalog or Taglish is good or bad?', aptly summarized the justification for mix-mix in the following words: 'In conversation you simply make your points better with mix-mix! It's practical.'' He concludes: 'The best reading or interpretation we can give to the data is that mix-mix is the language of the future'. Pascasio (personal communication) places it firmly and bluntly in the present: 'In the Philippines we have a situation of language mixing in English and Pilipino especially in the spoken medium'.

Linguistically speaking, these various interactional processes (inter-language and intra-language code-switching and code-mixing) may take place at various levels - lexical, prosodic, etc. What is important is that they may well possess a potentially significant role in the development of bi-cultural communities and bicultural individuals within them. 'We should note that bicultural societies have their own special structure and dynamics about which the individual learns a great deal. The insights generated by cultural conflict and by untranslateability constitute a source of culture in themselves to which the bi-cultural individual has special access. Thus the growing community of bi-cultural people share an undocumented culture which permits communication on a plane which mono-cultural people do not understand' (Serpell 1975: 11). In the terms of our earlier discussion, what may be happening (in so-called code-mixing especially) is a measure of reciprocal sociolinguistic transfer, reflecting moreover some degree of choice on the part of the ordinary language user. In its way, it stands alongside (and could be material for) the creative efforts of the bicultural literary writer.

COMMUNICATIVE NEEDS AND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND USING MOTIVATIONS

The main argument of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and their associates, drawing attention to 'integrative' and 'instrumental' motivations for the learning of foreign languages, are well known. While allowing that motivations will vary a great deal from one speech community to another (even for example from one region to another in the United States in the learning of French by high school students), their conclusion is that by and large the key to success in foreign-language learning lies in the adoption of an

'integrative' orientation towards the foreign culture, whereby the learner seeks to share certain of the attributes of the members of the other 'linguistic community' and to regard himself as a 'potential member of that community'. In this view, higher levels of proficiency are signalled by the development of native-like accent and the ability to 'think like a native speaker'; correspondingly, there is less likelihood of success if the student's motivation is 'instrumental', that is to say purely utilitarian and business-like.

There has been much indirect support for an 'integrative' view of language learning motivation in recent pronouncements on the nature of bilingualism. Haugen's opinion for example has to be taken very seriously: 'Some have tried to distinguish bilingualism from biculturalism. I wish to suggest that the two are indistinguishable except in detail. Only a linguist or an anthropologist operating with fictions can separate them; in practice they are inextricably inter-woven, and one is quite incomprehensible without the other. Any learning of a language for 'tool' purposes is to be excluded from the concept of bilingualism .... This is the reason we do not call our students who acquire a foreign language in school bilingual' ('On the meaning of bilingual competence', in A.S. Dil). With this, one should compare some stirring remarks from Bolinger (1971), who urges that students be brought into face-to-face communication, from the very beginning, with native speakers of the foreign language; that this language be that of the 'most accessible ethnic group'; and that 'we need a measure that will tell us whether our students are gaining insight and not just an alternative set of habits'. In similar vein, Gaarder (1970) asserts: 'It is at the bastion of biculturalism rather than at the bastion of language alone that bilingual education will succeed or fail'.

Haugen, Bolinger, Gaarder, and others of like mind maintain that 'dominant' groups in society, speaking a 'major' language, should learn not only the language of a 'subordinate' group but also, thereby, something of its culture, its way of life. Practical solutions have taken two main forms. One is the adoption of monolingual instruction of the dominant group in the subordinate group's language in so-called 'immersion' programmes. The other is that of bilingual education proper, applied that is to say to learners coming from the dominant group as well as to those from the subordinate group. In terms of language learning motivation, the aim in both cases is that of engendering an integrative outlook on the part of the dominant group who already speak the major language - together with the added bonus of encouraging subordinate group learners who may witness or share in the process.

Conditions in most parts of the world where English is a 'major' or (as we have termed it earlier) 'high' language, do not however match those of the United States or Canada. For example, native speakers of English are not normally available for participation in bilingual programmes, or in immersion programmes, which may have to be run and taught by non-native speakers. Certainly immersion is a common, indeed traditional tactic: large numbers of Indian university students are immersed in English-medium curricula, so too are many African primary and secondary school pupils, and so on. But this is not at all the same thing as immersing native English speakers in say Hindi or Luo classrooms. In these conditions then, two questions naturally arise (or should arise): 1) is 'integrative' motivation always and necessarily the most appropriate and effective, and 2) are 'integrative' and 'instrumental' type motivations the only available alternatives?

The first of these questions is very closely bound up with the second, and is certainly not answered merely by asserting the occasional (or even the frequent) importance of 'instrumental' motivation. The second question has been given the following answer by the one researcher: 'Gardner and Lambert (1972) argue that the major causative variable influencing foreign-language acquisition is the attitude of the learner towards the foreign culture, on the grounds that this attitude represents 'a more stable personal characteristic' than any previous experience of achievement. The findings of the NFER study, however, point in the opposite direction: early achievement in French affected later attitudes towards learning French and later achievement in French to a significantly greater extent than early attitudes towards learning French affected the subsequent development of either attitudes or achievement. This would suggest that the acquisition of foreign-language skills and the development of attitudes towards foreign-language learning during later years may be powerfully influenced by the learner's initial and formative experience of success or failure in the language-learning situation' (Burstall 1975, 17). We will look in a completely different direction however.

The adequacy of the integrative/instrumental opposition to account for basic differencss in language learning motivation has scarcely been questioned. Burstall's conclusions (above) are one exception, Macnamara (for example 1973, on language acquisition in the nursery and the street) has occasionally touched on the factor of 'communicative need', but the distinction itself appears to have attained the status of established lore. It is our contention however, that this particular dichotomy, like so many others, is very seriously incomplete, hence for that reason alone (there are others: see later) misleading, and that much of the present paper has already demonstrated as much.

The missing factor in the integrative/instrumental ideology has been the need, felt by vast numbers of learners of English, to use a non-native language in order to express something of their own way of life and experience, both to those who do speak the language natively and to those who do not - these latter audiences including not only members of other societies but also of their own larger society as well. This kind of motivation, surely, is entirely distinguishable from the learner's desire either to learn about, behave like or think like members of the target language community, or to utilise the language for purely 'instrumental' ends. If anything, it seeks to 'integrate' those who already speak the language into the ways of his own speech community.

There are therefore at least three basic types of language learning (and using) motivation, which we will name 1) expressive,[24] 2) adaptive/integrative, and 3) instrumental.

The picture is still seriously incomplete however, since our earlier discussions of the potentially 'overarching' roles of English (i.e., assuming some of the indigenous functions of 'low' or 'mid' languages, being used in the home, etc.), the place of sociolinguistic transfer and stylistic variation in 'interlanguage' English, and the potentialities for choice in literature and in popular code-switching and code-mixing behaviour alike, were firmly grounded on the notion of biculturalism. That is to say, we have to reckon with motivations to learn and use languages in order to express elements of one's own culture (expressive motivation), adapt to or absorb elements of the other culture (adaptive/integrative motivation), acquire a repertoire which facilitates the achievement of biculturalism (we shall discuss this under the heading of co-ordinating and blending motivations), and, finally, achieve some purely utilitarian end (instrumental motivation).

Furthermore, it is clear that we have to relate such motivations to the joint acquisition and use of particular languages, thus recognising motivations to learn, or develop greater proficiency in, or simply use the native language, a non-native language, or both languages.[25] The following table will enable us, in what follows, to refer to some of the more interesting alternatives. (The compound term 'adaptive/integrative' is shortened to 'adaptive', for ease of reference. N refers to native language, NN to non-native language.)

LANGUAGE LEARNING AND USING MOTIVATIONS

Expressive (Ex)	Adaptive (Ad)	Co-ordinating (Co)	Blending (Bl)	Instrumental (In)
N	N	N	N	N
NN	NN	NN	NN	NN
N+NN	N+NN	N+NN	N+NN	N+NN

Let us briefly review some of the 15 possibilities in turn, beginning with Ex N. Ex N is clearly a normal condition, but it is still worth noting why

native speakers of a 'minor' language may not want to learn or use a 'major' language. One reason may have to do with the question of whether there might not be certain characteristic modes of thought in illiterate and literate communities: the switch to another, written, language may in some respects amount to a very large cognitive jump. Goody and Watt (1963) argue that cultural traditions can be better experienced as a patterned whole when they are orally transmitted: 'Literate society, merely by having no system of elimination, no 'structural amnesia', prevents the individual from participating fully in the total cultural tradition to anything like the extent possible in non-literate society' (340). This means, in their view, that Western literate societies 'are incessantly exposed to a more complex version of the kind of culture-conflict that has been held to produce anomie in oral societies when they come into contact with European civilisation' (341). The pattern of feelings must be all too common: of inferiority because one's own language is unwritten and one is therefore illiterate, followed by cultural disorientation when contact is made with literate ways of thinking. Perhaps some people prefer therefore not to make the switch at all.[26]

Ad N may entail for example the extensive use of loanwords and other features from another language, that is to say with the intention (conscious or otherwise) of incorporating some of the cultural meanings associated with that language. Needless to say, more than loanwords as such may be taken over: much of what was said earlier on sociolinguistic transfer from native to non-native languages could apply in reverse. It may not be necessary to add too that this general process may reflect motivations to learn the other language itself (Ad NN).

With Co N however, the intention (evident at any rate in the upshot) may be to 'co-ordinate' elements of both cultures by (for example) utilising not only words already established in the native language but also loanwords from another language for the expression of the 'same' concept - according to situational context or purpose. The literature on 'minor' or 'vernacular' languages is full of examples. In Quechua, for example, according to Albo (1978), rough synonyms abound in which one of a pair of words is of native origin and refers to traditional ways of life, the other a Spanish borrowing; thus, Quechua numerals are used to count the flock while borrowed Spanish numerals are used to tell the time. Much the same phenomenon occurs even in present-day Welsh (Stephens, Sharp). The term 'co-ordinating' applies here to the extent that speakers recognisably switch (virtually code-switch, if a number of co-occuring features come into play) between native and non-native linguistic elements, while continuing to speak 'in' the native language

(see for example Denison's discussion of 'macro-structure' and 'micro-structure', 1971). 'Blending' however would be the more suitable term for processes in which elements from each language are brought much closer together, characteristically in one and the same utterance, in such a way as to be less sharply or obviously counterposed. The gradual infiltration of French loanwords, idioms, and pronunciations in Middle and Early Modern English would be one example.[27] One should note however in these and in all other cases that identical linguistic behaviours may stem from rather different motivational origins. Linguistic behaviour alone is not in itself a sufficient criterion.

To the comments already made about Ex NN, one might add that the expressive use of a non-native language could also have the effect of enhancing the speaker's (or writer's) knowledge of his own cultural background - that is to say in having to express it through an 'alien' medium.

The central consideration in any discussion of Ad NN has to be that of identifying the target speech community in question. One has to remember for example that the community into which the learner may wish to be 'integrated' may not in fact be one that speaks the target language natively: the learner may aspire to join the ranks of his own countrymen who have already learned to switch to English for certain purposes, or he may wish to communicate with learners of English like himself from other faraway countries. Is there, as Sharp and Kohn (1978) suggest there may be, a kind of 'emerging world middle-class' of non-native users of English, numbered in hundreds of millions? Whether this is quite the case or not, it is a useful reminder that many - perhaps most - learners and users of English as a non-native language do not seek thereby to identify with the British or American or Australian (etc.) 'way of life', and will (accordingly) be all the more prepared to learn and use non-native varieties of the language.

Passing on to In NN, it is necessary to look closely at the very notion of 'instrumental' motivation. Instrumental motivation is normally associated with the acquisition of a variety of a non-native language which is either thought to be culture-free (i.e., having no cultural content) or culture-fair (i.e., neutral as to cultural content). The second of these assumptions obviously makes more sense than the first, yet may also be very mistaken. English, for example, as used for technological, bureaucratic, academic, and other such purposes is often assumed to belong to no particular culture or to all or most cultures: the phrase 'a sterile academic form of English' captures well the neutral anonymity which English of a certain sort can seem to possess - a lifeless tool indeed.[28]

Yet such a view is patently false. Consider for example the character of much political and bureaucratic jargon and rhetoric: however 'logical'

and unbiassed this kind of English may pretend to be, it is always liable to conceal a whole pack of its own peculiar ambiguities, subterfuges, illogicalities, vaguenesses, and so on. Some at least of these must be traceable to the 'Western way of life". The same applies to 'academic' English. Most, if not all, learned papers in (for example) linguistics would probably be found, on close enough inspection, to adhere to rules of discourse concerned with implying or obscuring (as opposed to stating) the degree of certainty felt by the author on a particular point, with the degree of emphasis which he wishes to place on it, with the source and reliability of the authority on which he is basing it, with the nature of presupposed information, and so forth.

It follows then that the effects of (if not prior motivation for) learning a language for such 'instrumental' purposes will often be akin to that of learning it for 'integrative' purposes. In acquiring the knack of communicating as one bureaucrat, academic, technologist, etc., to another, in English, who is to say the learner does not simultaneously imbibe a strong dose of something peculiarly cultural? Certain uses of the passive, for example, may carry far-reaching implications for one whose own language is markedly different in this respect.[29]

A 'co-ordinating' motivation (discussed above in terms of Co N) may be realised by the acquisition and use of two varieties of the non-native language (Co NN), each allotted to its own particular set of contexts. One variety will be intended for use in native or native-like settings; this will be conceived of as a home-grown, probably 'informally' learned and used English. The other will very likely be intended for official, academic, and other such purposes, and will be expected to be 'formally' taught in school and university. The learner regards his task as that of acquiring the ability to code-switch in an appropriate and orderly manner. Earlier sections of this paper have cast some doubt however on the sharpness of this particular linguistic and cultural distinction. Sociolinguistic realities may rather take the form of continua of one sort or another, opposite poles of which may symbolise different sets of values. Language users sometimes leap considerable distances on such continua, when the occasion demands it. But they do not always do this, and one should not necessarily regard those occasions when, as Tongue (1974: 11) puts it, 'everything seems to change', as evidence for the availability of just two or three clear-cut 'codes': linguistic continua also allow for just those 'dramatic incidents' which Tongue describes. So that while an abrupt (particularly sustained) shift in stylistic level may implicitly signal a shift in linguistic and cultural identity which deserves the name 'co-ordinating', less abrupt shifts may occur also, and might well

be regarded as more in the nature of linguistic and cultural 'blending' (Bl NN). A good example of the latter would be the use of what Kachru (1975, 1978) calls 'hybridised lexical items' in Indian English.

'Expressive' motivations for the joint use of native and non-native languages (Ex N+NN) apply for example to those habits of rapid code-switching which are felt in themselves to symbolise ethnic or other native identities (see ROOM FOR CHOICE above.) Similarly, adaptive/integrative motivations for much the same kinds of usage may be read into some of the Hindi-English code-switching reported by Verma (1976) and others. Switching practices like these are said to serve as implicit markers of 'Westernisation'.

More likely however, code-switching and code-mixing behaviour involving more than one language will have the effect, and may be intended to have the effect, of 'co-ordinating' or 'blending' the cultures associated with the languages concerned. Thus, 'correlational' or 'situational' code-switching (' .... standard French in his office, standard Dutch in his club ....') will normally seek to be co-ordinative. 'Interactional' or 'symbolic' code-switching (' .... he considered which language they might be more comfortable in ....') may very likely (though not necessarily) seek to blend the cultures, particularly if the switching is fairly rapid and leads to apparent code-mixing.

Finally, code-switching and code-mixing alike could be intended to achieve essentially instrumental ends. The word 'practical', as used by one of Sibayan's informants (already quoted), has at any rate that kind of literal meaning: 'In conversation you simply make your points better with mix-mix. It's practical'. Another, rather more extreme, case is that of the Foreign Worker German found in some of the factories of West Germany: 'Here the 'migrating' populations of Turkish, Greek, Slavic, and Italian speakers .... developed a highly functional lingua franca that moves toward integration with native German .... a relatively stable form of language that .... must be considered an autonomous level of language' (Kaplan and TenHouten 1975: 7).

In this Section we have been concerned with relating five distinguishable (though no doubt 'fuzzy') language learning and using motivations with certain linguistic choices. On the motivational side, three of the five (expressive, adaptive/integrative, instrumental) appear to form an irreducible minimum set corresponding with the set comprising 'own' culture, 'other' culture, and (what might at least be popularly assumed to be) 'no' culture or a 'neutral' culture. Co-ordinating and blending motivations aspire to different states of biculturalism. On the linguistic side, choices are made which could be placed on a potential (and sometimes actual) continuum ranging from 'Standard' usage in the native language at one end, through to 'code-mixing' styles of the native language, 'code-switching' styles which defy analysis as one

language on the others, 'code-mixing' styles of the non-native language, and 'Standard' usage in the non-native language. All five motivations could prompt, at any rate accord with, linguistic choices at any points on such a continuum.

CONCLUSION

In one and the same country English can be the 'high' language of technology, commerce, academia, and so on; a language for politics, for literature, for bridging language barriers, etc.; and a language for school and home alike. Audiences may span the whole range from United Nations to the nursery. Attitudes may embrace an urgent need to accuire a 'lingua del pane', a 'blind desire' to become more English (or American ....) than the English (or Americans ....) themselves, or simply a wish to make other people listen. Whether the consequent 'tide of variability' will ever be stemmed is no doubt a moot point; perhaps textbook writers and others would do best to assume that it will not (see for example Candlin 1978, Quirk 1978, Stein 1978, for contrasting views on possible practical solutions). In any case, studies in interlanguage English could take more account than hitherto of the transfer (motivated or otherwise) of culturally specific communicative norms associated with the native languages of learners, and should explore the likelihood that sociolinguistic variation in English as a non-native language may in some respects be quite different in kind from what occurs in English as a native language.[30] The possibility should additionally be entertained that the ever-expanding literature on code-switching between distinct languages might throw some light on culturally specific sources of such variation. For example, it is surely not enough to attempt description and explanation solely in terms of some universal or unelaborated notion of 'formality'[31], in terms of educational level, or even in terms of ethnic and socio-economic grouping. The missing dimension may very well be that of cultural values.

At the heart of the problem however will be the requirement to find out how proficiences (or: 'knowledge' or competence'), performances, beliefs, perceptions, and evaluations, of both non-native and native users of language, and applied to the language of both non-native and native users, in the spoken as in the written language, variously interrelate and mutually effect each other. There is (or course) some work of an analogous kind in native language sociolinguistics, but in non-native Englishes there appears to be very little. The fact that there is very little owes something, no doubt, to the current unpopularity of the notion that non-native English can be meaningfully variable anyway. So that the two things go hand in hand: the study of variability within non-native English, and the study of how this variability relates to a cluster of subjective factors having to do with belief, perception, and evaluation. Note

that the native user of English is involved as well, because ultimately what matters is how the non-native and the native English user compare in all these respects.

The kinds of question that arise are for example the following: do proficiency (or knowledge, or competence) and performance differ, and if so why and under what circumstances?[32] Does the non-native user often mistake normal native English for something rather local? or local usage for native usage?[33] Do his beliefs about these matters colour his perceptions? Do his more evaluative judgments colour his perceptions? Does the non-native user 'hyper-correct', and if so how?[34] Should we begin to look for measurable indications of 'linguistic insecurity'? There are plenty of questions to ask.

But presumably what is needed above all is a widespread shift in attitudes and assumptions, mainly perhaps on the part of native speakers.[35] If diversification in the linguistic repertoires of bilingual-bicultural individuals were recognised as the positive achievement it is, if there were less fear of 'marginality', and if those many millions of non-native speakers of English felt a little more free to express themselves, both in English and in 'switches' between and 'mixes' of English and their own native languages, then perhaps we shall all get somewhere.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sociolinguistic writings on East Africa generally for example recognise Swahili as a widespread 'mid' language, in Scotton's view (1977) a 'neutral' social leveller.
2. See for example Gumperz (1961, 1972, etc.), Khubchandani (1975, 1978, etc.).
3. It is instructive to compare for example the quite closely similar and practical treatments of the Three Language Formula by Nadkarni (1977) for India, and Serpell (1975) for Zambia.
4. 'It is we, the English-known Indians, that have enslaved India', wrote Gandhi.
5. See especially Forrester 1966.
6. The term acquires a technical definition in at least one school of thought in anthropology: see Pride 1971, Scotton 1977.
7. Mazrui (1974) interestingly contrasts the character and development of 'Pan-Africanism' with 'Pan-Blackism'.
8. Sinhala, in the words of a resolution passed in May 1976 by the Tamil United Liberation Front, has been made 'the only official language throughout Ceylon thereby placing the stamp of inferiority on the Tamils and the Tamil language'. (Kearney 1977: 17).
9. Such as Swahili in Uganda: Scotton 1977.
10. Compare this however, from Sri Lanka: 'Persons in these strata today, although English remains their first language, can read and write Sinhala or Tamil, increasingly speak to their children in one of these languages, and generally are educating their children in the Sinhala or Tamil medium' (Kearney: 9).
11. 'Hypercorrection', so much a part of the literature on Black English in the United States, has been interpreted as a type of overgeneralisation by De Camp (1972).
12. See for example Geertz (1960).
13. It may also survive the editing of a native English reader. After editing, the following comment can still be made about a passage from a novel written in English by a Sumatran: 'As to the socio-linguistic aspect of the language the passage from Mochtar Lubis is worth noting since we here address one another as brother or uncles or nephews depending on the age of the person we are talking to. The use of the second pronominal in addressing someone is in Javanese quite a complicated business. Also the tendency to be modest about oneself when talking to someone .... is characteristically Indonesian' (Drs. R. Soegondo, personal communication).

14. Verma (1976) draws an attractive picture of the Hindi-English code-switching Indian elite: 'Dr Prasad and Dr Sinha are highly educated. They belong to sophisticated upper middle class families. Their children go to English-medium schools. Their servants have been trained to address them as 'saahib' and their wives as 'mensaahib'.'

15. See for example Duncan (1974), Goffman (1976), Merritt (1976), Philips (1976).

16. It is not being implied that no sociolinguistic work on English exists in these countries.

17. A kind of 'poised suspension' worth comparing with this, from Raja Rao: 'The magic of words is cultivated mainly by inner silence, one that is cultivated by associating oneself with society but going away from it.'

18. The establishment of the expression 'Indo-Anglian' itself makes the point.

19. This, of course, is a fate which looms over writers in a non-native language everywhere. See for example Mazrui (1976), Killam (1973).

20. Compare: 'This dependence on English literature for his style is ironic in view of the aggressively nationalistic themes of Venkataramani's novels' (Mukherjee: 193).

21. Ferguson (1968) states that 'in most of the well-known cases of language standardisation in Europe since the Renaissance, a number of features keep recurring, although they are not all present in each case: .... One writer or a small number of writers served as acknowledged models for literary use of the standardising language' (32).

22. So far as possible, the number of respondents initially addressed was made proportional to the figures given by Gage and Ohannessian (1977) for enrolments in classes using English as a medium of instruction. In this way it was determined for example that approximately 150 persons should be contacted in India, 30-40 in Nigeria, one or two in Swaziland etc. This pattern was followed in the main, prominent exceptions being the Philippines, Tanzania, and Uganda - all under-represented. The unavailability of certain kinds of reference material resulted in a marked predominance of university recipients in most Commonwealth countries, compared with a more or less equal representation from universities, colleges of education, and other teacher-training institutions elsewhere. The request itself was conceived as a carefully unspecific, uniform, and mildly provocative stimulus, designed to 'draw out' as many respondents as possible. The bulk of the responses (as at 3 December 1977), pro rata, came from India particularly, and South East Asian countries (with the exception of Singapore) generally; relatively few (with the very

notable exception of Zambia) came from Africa, virtually none from East Africa. It had originally been intended to utilise much of this material in discussions at the Ninth World Congress of Sociology (Uppsala, 14-20 August 1978), but the inability to attend of all but a very few of those interested ruled out this possibility.

23. Speech communities and individuals alike differ of course in their beliefs, perceptions, attitudes etc., in this matter. Extreme disbelief in any marked tendency (at any rate among educated speakers) to 'mix' codes is well attested for Arabic-speaking countries (Fergusson 1959), where however the truth may turn out to be one of tremendous stylistic variability, particularly in 'educated spoken Arabic' (T.F. Mitchell, personal communication). Similarly, Ornstein (1976) writes, of Mexican-American bilinguals speaking Spanish and English: 'As is fully expected ... enormous confusion reigns regarding the status of regional varieties .... The confusion stems .... from the envisioning of language varieties in terms of an irreconcilable standard vs. nonstandard dichotomy, a conflict further compounded by doubts as to the place of 'mixed' varieties resulting fron contact, and other stigmatised varieties' (142).
Elsewhere, tolerance for nondistinctness in language boundaries may coincide with an 'identity badge' approach when it comes to filling in a census return. Thus, compare: '.... in plural societies, where active or grassroot 'folk' bilingualism is an everyday reality, this awareness of discriminating one set of speech habits from another set is not acquired even by adults' (Khubchandani 1972), with: 'The symbolic significance of language identity is revealed in the census data of a multilingual country like India .... a speaker returns a particular 'language' as his mother-tongue, not on the basis of the formal features of the language but on the basis of his group identity and loyalty' (Pandit 1978; see also Khubchandani 1978).

24. This term should not be taken as necessarily implying poetic, aesthetic, personal etc.

25. Like all such dichotomies, 'native' versus 'non-native' is far from self-evident. As Tay (1978) has well observed, there are at least the dimensions of order of acquisition, proficiency, and contexts of use to consider, and each of these may be quite complex: more than one language may be acquired as a 'mother-tongue', or at any rate rather early; there are many kinds of proficiency; and many kinds of context, each having its own kind of status. One use of the term 'native' (but only one) would apply to a language which may or may not have been acquired first, but which is nevertheless the language in which the user is most proficient in what one could loosely refer to

as more 'informal' (or perhaps 'traditional' or 'homely') settings. This is surely a good case for the increased use of (as it were) 'process' as opposed to 'state' labels generally: nativisation, pidginisation, switching, and the like.

26. Simukoko (1975) suggests that the acquisition of highly literate skills in a language such as English is bound to carry with it some loss - possibly considerable - in the skills of oral literature already acquired in the mother-tongue.

27. There are further choices sometimes open to the person who uses a feature borrowed from another language, notably whether to borrow it in a linguistically assimilated or unassimilated form. The sociolinguistic importance of this kind of choice (where indeed it exists for the individual language user) has been well documented by Whiteley (1967) for the borrowing of English words into Swahili in Tanzania, and by Mosha (1971) for English and other languages into Luganda in Uganda.

28. Some of the many labels appended to English in Third World countries convey just such an image: 'library' language, 'additional' language, 'link' language, etc.

29. The use of the passive voice in English has to be seen in the light of language planning efforts directed at native languages. The following extract from Alisjahbana (1971), concerning Indonesian, may be of interest in this connection: 'One other important change has been the tendency towards an active or causal use of language. This is expressed in a rapidly expanding use of the prefix me - which denotes the subject as the initiator of an action, and a corresponding decline in the use of the prefix di - which carries a more passive connotation and tends to make an event less directly dependent on a person-performing-an-act' (1107). Of this kind of statement, it may be pertinent to enquire whether for example it is felt that academic and scientific writing in Indonesian should be modified. If so, there will be differences in this respect between it and norms for corresponding genres of English, hence problems in translation. There is abundant use of the passive voice (and analogous devices) in the English of Alisjahbana's own paper.

30. Dickerson (1975) put the question: is the learner's interlanguage in fact a system of variable rules? The methodological framework for her subsequent investigation owes much - perhaps too much - to Labovian techniques applied to the native language. A group of ten Japanese studying English in the U.S.A. varied their pronunciation of English/z/ in certain linguistic environments according to whether they were speaking freely, reading dialogues, or reading word lists, in a highly predictable manner.

31. The very uncertain status of the notion of 'formality' is well handled by Wolfson (1976). Some cultural relativities involved are reviewed by Pride (1970). Is the expression of anger within the family circle, for example, 'formal' or 'informal' in intent and in linguistic affiliation? Or is formality only marginally relevant in such a case? Consider the heavily nativised passage quoted above from M.R. Anand's Coolie.

32. Richards (1978) writes: 'Children of immigrant workers in Australia have been observed to switch from a type of worker-pidgin when they speak to their parents, and to use a dialect of English closer to standard Australian English when speaking to their peers. Here the children would appear to be adjusting his or her speech in the case of child-adult talk, so as not to downgrade the parent's status by a demonstration of superior language ability, and to vary his or her speech repertoire towards standard English when speaking to a peer, so as not to downgrade the child's own status vis-a-vis a peer!

33. Clear indications along these lines in the material referred to in ROOM FOR CHOICE above have all the appearance of a 'tip of an iceberg'.

34. He may do this not least in broadly stylistic ways: 'Indian English' for example, both written and spoken, can be seen in this light.

35. Mokashi-Punekar (1971), in many stirring comments, aims direct (one hopes retrospectively) at the misguided 'linguistician' who has discovered 'the' native speaker .... 'that poor shabby mythical creature .... If the major function of the native speaker is to sneer at what sounds un-English to him, does it prove his authority?' (55). Here is the author's creed in a paragraph:

'It was after independence when the nationalist impulse receded that stylistics in their pure English form began to dominate the Indo-Anglian scene. A new theory that English is the language of the Englishman began to be assumed. Its confusing corollaries that Fowlerian English is the only correct English; that contemporary English style is the only worthwhile style; that Tagore, Gandhi and Aurobindo wrote bad English; that all poetry not written in a language not spoken by English charwomen is not English poetry; that to write in English one must have stayed for sometime in England; that to enjoy Wordsworth's Daffodils one should have actually seen them; that grammatical errors committed by Indians are Indianisms; that reputed English writers from Oxbridge never write bad grammar; that English language is also English behaviour; in short, a whole set of voluntarily accepted colonial concepts began to prevail in the sophisticated educational circles.'

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